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ABSTRACT

The integration of health and social services with schools promises to be an effective means of delivering services to children and families in the face of increasing social problems and needs. Beginning in 1886, urban settlement houses provided education and a wide variety of services to aid the assimilation of new immigrants. Similarly, settlement schools were established in Appalachia in the early 1900s to provide education and services needed for the transition to industrialized society. This paper traces the history of integrated services from the early 1900s to the 1970s in three Appalachian settlement schools: Hindman Settlement School (Hindman, Kentucky), Pine Mountain Settlement School (Blescoe, Kentucky), and Crossnore School (Crossnore, North Carolina). Data collection included interviews with individuals associated with the schools and examination of primary sources such as government documents, photographs, newspaper articles, and archival collections of papers. The services provided by the schools are summarized, including academic programs, extension of educational services to remote areas, relationship with local public school systems, medical and nursing services, short-term health clinics for special needs, health education, training in nutrition and hygiene, vocational and agricultural training, recreational services, and welfare services. Overall, services were provided based on community needs and participative decision making. The schools were adaptable and innovative and cooperated with other public and community agencies. Contains approximately 110 references from full doctoral study. (SV)

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Southern Appalachian Settlement Schools As Early Initiators of Integrated Services

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Introduction

In the United States one-fifth of the children live in poverty. More children than ever live in single-parent households, and many have lived on welfare at some point in their lives. Among the homeless population, families with children constitute the fastest growing members. Many children are malnourished, 12 million have no health insurance. More than two million children are abused and/or neglected (House Select Committee on children, Youth, and Families, 1989). Sheldon (1990), reflecting upon the "magnitude of the problems visited on our children" concluded that "all our children are growing up in a world at risk, and we, as adults, have a collective obligation to do something about it" (pp.12-13).

To date, attempts to address the many problems children and their families possess have been less than successful. Although billions of dollars have been spent on health, education, and social services, the problems continue to rise unabated. Morrill (1992) believed the failures of the current delivery system of services "arise from fragmentation, specialization, and complexity" (p.38). The integration of health and social services with schools provides what is believed to be a more effective way to meet this collective obligation.

Educators' responsibilities to children have increased from what many view to be their sole task -- to teach children. Increasingly, educators are asked to be providers of food, health care, and after-school child care. Given the current plight of children, educators are increasingly being asked to become partners with other agencies designed to serve children and their families. This partnership is referred to as the integration of health and social services with schools; this partnership is also sometimes termed school-linked services or full-service schools.

Because the current delivery system of services to children is viewed as so fragmented that children are either undeserved or not served at all, the integration of services offers hope to rectify this situation. School is considered to be the logical base for such services because it is the one social institution that has regular contact with all school-age children. Further, the difficulties children possess because of social problems impact directly upon their ability to be efficient learners, thus making the task of educating some

children difficult and sometimes impossible. It seems inevitable that, over time, integration of services with schools will occur, requiring educators to be collaborators and leaders in the integration movement. Educators must prepare themselves for their new roles, and part of this preparation includes developing an understanding of past efforts to integrate education with health and social services.

The concept of integration of health and social services with education is not new. Its roots can be traced to the early 1900s. The establishment of settlement houses for the immigrants who came to the ever-expanding industrial centers of the United States was one early response to their needs.

The settlement house movement began in 1886 with the creation of the Neighborhood Guild in New York City, later to become University Settlement (Church, 1976; Trolander, 1975). The primary purpose of settlement houses was to improve conditions for the most impoverished of the nation's urban centers, but a secondary purpose was to foster understanding and cooperation among the classes, especially the middle class.

Unique in their approach, settlement workers were made up primarily of young people from the middle class who actually lived with the poor in the slums they called home. Jane Addams, founder of Hull House in Chicago, described the settlement house as a place "where young women who had been given over too exclusively to study might restore a balance of activity along traditional lines and learn of life from life itself" (Addams, 1910, p 72). The poor would learn from the middle-class and they, in turn, would learn from them. Residents of the Hull House came from a cross section of "old-stock" (Church & Sedlak, 1976, p.271) Americans and first and second generation Americans of Irish-American, Jewish, Italian, and Bohemian decent.

The primary function of the settlement houses was educational. They sought to teach children, but they also sought to teach adults and to teach them to be informed citizens. Kindergarten classes, English-language classes, domestic skills, training in the trades, child care via vacation schools, playgrounds, health exams, and more constituted the curriculum of the settlement houses. Social activism was also on the educational agenda as leaders sought to strengthen communities (Church & Sedlak, 1976; Trolander, 1975).

The primary goal of the settlement houses was to facilitate assimilation while simultaneously preserving ethnic values. Assimilation could not occur if poor housing, inadequate nutrition, lack of medical care, and inappropriate education prevailed (Church & Sedlak, 1976).

Settlement houses served as publicists for the plight of the poor, role models for tolerance of differences among the various racial/ethnic groups, and innovators of educational reform. Privately funded and managed, components of the settlement houses became part of the public school system, and with this event the services of public schools rendered to students and their families changed. For examples, settlement house vacation schools became summer schools, counseling services to children and parents became school counselors, and domestic arts and manual training became vocational education in public schools.

The Southern Appalachian people were also impacted by the Industrial Revolution. The abundance of coal and lumber brought outsiders to the region in search of these valuable resources needed to fuel the factories of the urban centers (Eller, 1979). The lack of educational opportunities, medical care, and social services brought to the Southern Appalachians settlement institutions, as well. Settlement schools, mission schools, and folk schools became the social institutions that helped people to receive the services they needed and helped them to assimilate into the dominant American society.

The primary purpose of settlement schools was to provide educational opportunities for children. Mission schools, which are sometimes included under the heading of settlement schools, also provided educational services. Because the needs of the communities in the area were so great, both settlement schools and mission schools provided additional services, including adult education, domestic arts, manual training, health care, and other services as needed. The matter of control constituted the primary difference between settlement schools and mission schools. Settlement schools were controlled by the local citizens. Mission schools, while certainly soliciting input from the citizenry, were ultimately controlled by their respective mission boards. Also, the approach to the teaching of religion by settlement schools and mission schools was different. Part of the purpose of mission schools was to instruct religion according to the beliefs of the individual mission boards; settlement schools did not seek to convert children or families, although Christian ideals were taught. Folk schools were not part of the settlement school movement but certainly

supplemented the work of the settlement and mission schools. The purpose of folk schools was to teach adults to create crafts and furniture so that they would be able to derive an income from their products (Green III, 1981).

These early institutions, settlement houses and settlement schools, were two of the primary forces in the movement to provide integrated health and social services with education.

Between the early 1900s and present, health and social services in varying degrees have been integrated with education, both public and private; the deliverers and recipients of these services have changed over time. Within Southern Appalachia, there is a strong movement toward the integration of services with public education. Kentucky, for example, has mandated that all schools having 20 percent or more of its student population on the free or reduced lunch program must provide integrated health and social services. These integrated services must be provided directly on the school site or within close proximity of the school (Dryfoos, 1994).

Settlement Schools in Southern Appalachia offered extensive integrated services, services which changed over time as the infrastructure of the mountains increased and public education became more accessible. Today, integrated services with schools is being initiated both in Appalachian and other sections of the country.

The Problem

The problem of this study was to determine the contribution of settlement schools to the provision of integrated services in schools between the 1900s and the 1970s. This was accomplished by developing answers to the following questions:

1. What integrated services were provided by settlement school and how were these services delivered?
2. What was the relationship of settlement schools to that of the public school systems, including political dimensions?
3. As public schools took over the educational services once provided by the settlement schools, was there any carry-over of integrated health and social services to the public schools between the 1900s and the 1970s?

The significance of this study was that it offered an in-depth look at integration of services with schools from a historical perspective with the expectation that much would be learned that could guide current and future integration efforts in Southern Appalachia.

Boundaries

The historical period of interest in this study was between the 1900s and the 1970s. The focus of the research was upon the following settlement schools in Southern Appalachia: Hindman School and Pine Mountain School, both in Kentucky, and Crossnore School in North Carolina. These schools were chosen for the following reasons: (1) Based upon a review of the literature of the services offered by non-mission settlement schools, these schools offered the most extensive services to the communities they served, (2) Hindman, established as a public school, was the first settlement school in Southern Appalachia; (3) Pine Mountain School, established by Hindman School founder Katherine Pettit, was the second settlement to be established and was established as a private school; (4) Crossnore School was established as a subscription school with the local public school; (5) all three schools were settlement schools rather than mission schools, and (6) these three schools continue to serve their communities today.

Methods

Design

The methodology utilized to trace the history of integrated services in selected settlement schools between the early 1900s and the 1970s was historical -descriptive. Borg & Gall (1989) defined historical research as the "systematic search of facts relating to questions about the past, and the interpretation of these acts. By studying the past, the historian hopes to achieve a better understanding of present institutions, practices, and issues in education" (Borg and Gall, p.806). The authors noted that the historical researcher "discovers data through a search of historical sources such as diaries, official documents, and relics" (p.807).

Only primary sources were used. Careful attention was given to historical criticism.

The researcher applied external criticism to determine the authenticity of the sources, when and where the sources were created, and by whom. She attempted to determine the authors and the dates to eliminate the possibility of falseness and to aid in internal criticism. Shafer (1980) stated that the researcher

may authenticate the date and author through "content analysis, comparison with the content of other evidence, and of the physical properties of evidence" (Shafer, 1980, p.130).

Borg and Gall (1989) stated that historical accounts are by nature subjective. For this reason, internal criticism seeks to determine the "accuracy and worth of the statements contained in a historical document...and the people who wrote [created] them" (p.822). Shafer (1980) stated that internal criticism involves determining the "credibility of evidence" (p.149). To determine the credibility of evidence, one may consider the following questions: (1) What are the literal and figurative meanings of the language used? (2) Was the author of the document in a physical position to be an observer and have the ability to observe? (3) Were his or her reports biased? (4) What is the time frame between the report and the event reported? (5) What contradictions occur within the report? (6) Are the researcher's own biases influencing his or her interpretation of the report? (7) What corroboration exists when one compares documents or other sources? (pp.166-170).

Sources such as governmental documents, photographs, newspaper articles, and archival collections of papers were studied at the Center of Appalachian Studies at East Tennessee State University, The Appalachian Cultural Center at Appalachian State University, Berea College, and the archives of the following settlement schools: Hindman Settlement School (Hindman, KY), Pine Mountain Settlement School (Blescoe, KY), and Crossnore School (Crossnore, NC). Interviews were conducted with individuals who were, directly or indirectly, associated with the specified settlement schools of the Southern Appalachian region to gain insight into their unique experiences as witnesses to life in Southern Appalachia as the settlement schools developed over time.

Throughout the research process, the researcher sought to determine the accuracy and worth of sources by continuously asking questions that relate to the probability that an event could have occurred at the time and in the manner described by the source, the writer of documents the expertise of the source, the proximity of the source to the event, the reputation of the sources, and the presence of bias.

Data Collection

Following an ERIC search and a search of Dissertation Abstracts, the researcher reviewed the literature. The researcher examined archival material stored at East Tennessee State University's

Appalachian Archives, Appalachian State University's Cultural Center, archival material stored at Berea College, and archival material at Hindman, Crossnore, and Pine Mountain settlement schools. The researcher also examined public records of Knott and Harlan County (KY) Public Schools, and Avery County (NC) Public Schools. Because of the support the DAR gave the settlement schools, the researcher examined copies of DAR records which were readily available at the settlement schools.

Data Analysis

Shafer (1980) stated that historical analysis "is a systematic attempt to learn about a subject's elements" (p.172) and to synthesize the information. Synthesis requires the reader to "digest" (p.187) the material, generalize, interpret, and arrange the material so that inferences may be made. Patton (1990) and Lincoln & Guba (1985) stated that the appropriate method of data analysis in qualitative research (which historical research is) is that of inductive analysis. Inductive analysis "means that the patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data; they emerge out of the data rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis. The analysis looks for natural variation in the data" (p.390). The researcher analyzed data gathered through examination of primary sources, arrived at generalizations based on the emerging patterns and themes, and made inferences as they presented themselves.

Triangulation, utilized to determine that internal validity was not compromised, (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was achieved through the use of internal criticism. The researcher, as raw archival data was analyzed, sought to determine the credibility of the evidence by looking for consistency. The collaboration of data was an important part of triangulation. Because this was an historical study, this was frequently not possible, but every attempt was made to do so. For example, in instances where archival material referred to interactions between the local boards of education and the settlement schools, the school board records were examined as well. Comparison of archival material data to known sources utilizing archival data and use of interviews furthered contributed to triangulation.

Data analysis was achieved through the use of a code-based, theory-building computer program called Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing (N.U.D.I.S.T.). This program allowed the unitilization (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 --or categorization-- of data through coding. Search routines allowed for cross-referencing of data within individual documents and across all documents.

Through this data analysis program, patterns emerged both within and across documents, natural variations emerged, and contradictions within the data surfaced.

Summary of Methodology

Historical-descriptive research was utilized to trace the history of integrated services in selected Appalachian settlement schools from the early 1900s to the 1970s. Only primary sources were used. External criticism was utilized to determine the authenticity of sources and internal criticism was utilized to determine the accuracy and value of information contained within historical documents. Interviews were conducted with those who could have served as eye-witness to these historical events or are recognized authorities on these historical events.

Richard Marius (1995) stated that "History...involves telling a story" (p 1). The researcher attempted to tell a story of the efforts of settlement school workers to integrate health and social services with education in Southern Appalachia.

Summary of Educational Services Provided by Settlement Schools

The education of Southern Appalachian mountain children was the primary purpose for establishing the schools of Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore. Similarities and differences occurred among the three schools in matters of curriculum, funding, and the relationship each had with their respective county Boards of Education. Each changed over time in ways that allowed them to continue to serve their communities.

All three schools provided an academic program which at least met the minimum standards of the states in which they were located. Each school, over time, established a high school. Hindman Settlement School provided the first program in domestic and industrial arts in Kentucky, and these courses were an important part of the educational program at all three schools. A college preparatory program was available to students of these three schools, although it is unclear how extensive this program was at Pine Mountain Settlement School. Their non-traditional approach to credits and grades and complaints from community members about the limited number of Pine Mountain Settlement School students pursuing a college education would imply that a college preparatory program was not of great importance to the leaders.

Pine Mountain and Hindman schools expanded their educational services to outlying areas either by establishing extension centers or by helping the county school systems provide education at extremely remote sections of the county. Crossnore, however, offered such assistance by allowing students from outside Crossnore to attend Crossnore School, Inc., beginning with students from the nearby Altamont district and later allowing students from neighboring Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia to attend as boarding students.

Hindman and Crossnore Schools were, from the beginning, public schools. Even so, they charged tuition, which few students paid directly; payment came in the form of student work and/or individual contributions from people of means who "sponsored" a child. Pine Mountain was a private school that also charged tuition. Like the other two schools, children who could not afford to pay tuition worked and/or were sponsored by individuals. Regardless of payment method, all students were required to work for a specified period of time, for work was considered a part of their training in industrial and domestic arts.

The relationship between the public school systems and the settlement schools varied for each of the three schools. Hindman, which for all practical purposes was the only public school for most of the years under study, had a cooperative, collaborative relationship with the Knott County Board of Education from the very beginning of the school's establishment.

Pine Mountain School, however, had a more restricted relationship with the Harlan County Board of Education. Established as a private school, the School did not feel the need to work as closely with the County Board of Education as did Hindman; however, the relationship between the two was clearly a positive one, as is evident through the willingness of the Harlan County Board of Education to turn over to Pine Mountain Settlement School the operation of some of its rural schools. Their relationship could be described as cooperative.

Crossnore School, Inc. had a somewhat antagonistic relationship with the Avery County Board of Education. As the only public school in Crossnore, the Avery County Board of Education assumed some responsibility for the education of children at the School. As a subscription school, the county paid for four months of schooling; Dr. Sloop had to find ways to finance the other five months of schooling. Subscriptions were paid in part through work and in part through the sponsorship of the children by

individual benefactors. The growth of the curriculum, the physical plant, the quality of teachers, and the provision of a host of other services were achieved through the tireless efforts of Dr. Mary Sloop and the generosity of many benefactors. The lack of information on Crossnore School, Inc. made it difficult to trace the relationship between the Avery County Board of Education and the Crossnore School, but there is little evidence in either the Crossnore records or the Avery County Board of Education's records to indicate that the relationship was positive. It appeared that the County Board of Education members did only that which was required of them.

In summary, then, the relationship between Hindman and the Knott County Board of Education was both cooperative and collaborative. The relationship between Pine Mountain School and Harlan County Board of Education was for the most part positive and sometimes cooperative. The relationship between Crossnore School and Avery County Board of Education was somewhat antagonistic and cooperative only when required by outside forces.

In time, the county systems assumed responsibility for the education of the children within their districts. As they did so, Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. shifted their focus to the expansion of other services. By the end of the 1970s, none were the primary educational institutions in their communities. Hindman remained the most involved in direct educational services and became Knott County's resource center for GED preparation, adult literacy programs, and programs for learning disabled children. Pine Mountain shifted its emphasis to environmental education, and Crossnore became both a shelter and a school for abused and/or neglected children and children. These schools continue to serve their communities in these capacities today.

Educational services were only part of the services offered by Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. Responding to the multiple needs of the communities served, they also provided health care and social services.

Summary of Health Services Provided by Settlement Schools

The primary function of the schools may well have been to educate the mountain people, but the assumption of the responsibility of providing health care for the people, of providing health care as an integrated services with Hindman and Pine Mountain settlement schools in particular represents the highest

ideal of settlement work. Health services were integrated with the settlement schools first through the securing of visiting nurses who provided services to the ill via home visits. So great was the demand for their services, that students were taught home nursing skills so they could assist the visiting nurse in her duties. The schools expanded their services through the building of infirmaries and/or hospitals. Pine Mountain Settlement School established, in addition to the medical services provided at the school itself, the Medical Settlement, approximately 30 miles from the school. The settlement schools offered specialized clinics which were sometimes conducted by physicians brought into the area for short periods of time, such as the trachoma clinics. Health education was also an important component of the health services. Hygiene and nutrition were taught to students and their families. The settlement schools also provided hygiene and nutrition training and materials to county teachers. Lives were saved because of integration of health services with the schools, both at school sites and through the schools' medical outreach programs, healthier living occurred through the education of the people in nutrition, sanitation practices, and personal hygiene.

Summary of Social Services Provided by Settlement Schools

Social services encompassed a much broader range of services in the past than today. Hindman, Pine Mountain, and Crossnore School, Inc. provided a host of services beyond educational ones. These services were seen as natural outgrowths of what was perceived to be settlement work. Like their urban counterparts, rural settlement workers responded to peoples' needs. They provided assistance with acquisition of electricity; employment through development of "fireside" industries which provided a market for their weavings, furniture, etc.; agricultural training through the schools' instructional programs and in cooperation with agricultural extension agencies, recreational services, a place for community meetings; and educational workshops.

Boarding of children at each school could be perceived as a social service as well, for without this service, many children would have been denied an education of the caliber offered by these schools. Pine Mountain School, through its extension schools, provided homemaking skills and a social worker to aid people in the communities served by the schools.

Through the extension schools of Pine Mountain, religious services were also provided. Pine Mountain School provided a cooperative credit union. It also distributed Red Cross aid during the drought

of the 1930s. Crossnore School, through its used clothing store and barter system, provided a means by which members of the community could acquire inexpensive clothing. The cooperative relationship between the School and the Department of Agriculture was instrumental in bringing in a home economist to work directly with women in their homes to teach them better and safer homemaking skills. Crossnore School also provided care for orphaned or abandoned children.

The concept of social services, utilizing the resources of the school, seemed always to be part of the philosophy of the settlement workers. In regards to multiple services provided by the schools, Hindman School leaders eloquently expressed the philosophy shared by all the settlement workers:

> Such support, expressed by the community as a great need, is the type of challenge to the Settlement that it has always made every effort to meet. Such support is important to our continued excellent relation with our community. Trying to provide such support is important in regards to our moral obligations as we are set up as a cooperating and forward-looking agency" (BMM, October 3, 1961).

Conclusions

With the limitations of the archival documents in mind, and based upon the findings of this study, the following conclusions have been made:

1. Services were provided based upon specific needs of the people served.

2. The recipients of services were included in the decision-making process.

3. Services were provided for only time necessary. The objective, always, was to empower people to provide for themselves.

4. Settlement schools and public agencies worked cooperatively, not competitively, with each other.

5. Private organizations and individuals worked with both the settlement schools and the public schools, contributing time and money to various projects undertaken by the settlement schools.

6. No legal barriers prohibited private organizations and/or individuals from either operating and/or co-operating public schools. Public money from local and state boards of education were turned over to these private organizations and/or individuals for operation of the public schools of Hindman and Crossnore, and

the private school of Pine Mountain. Not only did these schools receive public funds, the operation of several rural county schools were turned over to Pine Mountain school.

7. Rarely were people "given" things --food, clothing, medical care. People were, instead, given opportunities to earn what they received through labor, the creative use of a barter system, or reduced rates.

8. "Turf" issues were not a factor. Various organizations, the settlement schools, public school officials, and other public agencies worked together as needed, some more cooperatively than others. This may have worked because cooperation was sought for specific endeavors --build a dormitory, hire a teacher, establish a trachoma clinic, etc. rather than a continuous, interagency collaborative effort.

9. The endurance of these three schools can be attributed to the ability to adapt to changing situations. As public schools took over more and more responsibilities for educating children, settlement schools shifted their emphasis to addressing new needs. They did not cling to the past; they moved into the future, addressing the new needs of those whom they served.

10. The settlement schools became an integral part of the communities they served, and as such, they became a community resource center.

11. The relationship of the settlement schools to Boards of Education were as follows. Hindman Settlement School, a public school, and Knott County Board of Education worked in partnership with one another, Pine Mountain School, a private school, did not work in a partnership with the Harlan County Board of Education, but they did work cooperatively with the Board by taking over the operation of some of the county's rural school systems; Crossnore School, Inc., a public school, seemed to have a somewhat adversarial role with the Avery Board of Education in the matter of funding and used the political clout of those more powerful than the local Board members to bring pressure upon the Avery County Board of Education to do a better job meeting its obligations to the people.

12. Settlement schools developed innovative curricula, teaching methods, and assessment practices.

13. Public schools did not follow the example of the settlement schools, for they did not integrate health and social services into their schools. Harlan County Board of Education did, however, desire that Pine Mountain Settlement School integrate its health and social services into the schools the Board turned over to the settlement school for operation. In time, however, public schools did incorporate vocational education,

home economics, health, and physical education into their curriculum framework, just as the settlement schools did many years earlier.

Recommendations

The implications of this study are that those engaged in, or considering engaging in, integrated services should consider the following recommendations: (1)Know and respect the culture of those being served. (2)Do not determine the needs of those whom you serve; it is they who must determine those needs for themselves. (3)Involve community members directly in the decision-making process. (4)Look beyond the obvious resources available to facilitate integrated services. (5)Develop a sense of community among and with those you serve --become a positive member of these communities. (6) Know your "ABCs" and apply them. (7)Be flexible and adaptive to changing conditions. (8) Utilize effective leadership techniques, matching the leadership behavior to the situation, such as is recommended in Hersey and Blanchard's situational leadership model (Hersey, P., & K. Blanchard, 1977). (9) Develop innovative curricula, teaching strategies, and assessment practices in schools. (10) Conduct additional research, both quantitative and qualitative, to evaluate past and current integrative services endeavors.

Pine Mountain Settlement School, Hindman Settlement School, and Crossnore School, Inc. were early initiators of integrated services because there was a need. Such a need still exists.

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